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USAF WOMEN IN COMBAT POLICY
AND IMPLEMENTATION IN THE
ALL-VOLUNTEER FORCE

THESIS

Kathleen M. Winters, M.S.
Captain, USAF

AFIT/GLM/LSM/90S-62

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USAF WOMEN IN COMBAT POLICY
AND IMPLEMENTATION IN THE
ALL-VOLUNTEER FORCE

THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of the School of Systems and
Logistics of the Air Force Institute of Technology
Air University
In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Science in Logistics Management

Kathleen M. Winters, M.S.

Captain, USAF

September 1990

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Preface

The purpose of this study was to review the policy on women in combat from 1948 to the present and how the Air Force implemented it. Although many papers and articles are written on women in combat, they usually address the question: "Should a woman be allowed in combat?" This thesis does not enter into that realm. It traces where women are and have been employed in the Air Force. The thesis also provides some insights on the employment of women relative to combat exclusion.

Many individuals assisted me this year and my appreciation is extended to each one. Yet the following deserve special thanks. For their love, prayers, and immeasurable support thanks are extended to my parents, John and Kathleen Winters, my family, and close friends. Additionally, I am forever grateful to Maj Gen Jeanne M. Holm USAF (ret) for her military and leadership contributions, especially her efforts concerning women in the Air Force. Thanks are also in order for her candid discussions and hospitality. A debt of gratitude goes to the academics who made completion of school and thesis possible. Special thanks go to Capt Joel Melsha, my thesis advisor, for unwavering faith and support, Dr. Craig Brandt for his political insight, and to the woman who truly put it all together my typist, Jonna Hemrick.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the policy on women in combat and the Air Force implementation of the policy. The study provides a brief outline of women's roles in combat since the beginning of the country. The focus then shifts to women in the military in light of the combat exclusion policy.

The literature indicates that women were encouraged to join the Armed Services to perform noncombat related jobs. This freed able-bodied men to go fight the war. The passage of The Women's Armed Services Intergration Act (80-625) was due to the stated necessity of keeping some women available and trained in case of another conflict. In truth, the military had begun to rely on the service of women in meeting their taskings.

In deference to the combat exclusion policy, the thesis looks at policy, policy implementation, and policy analysis. And then focuses on the employment evolution of women in the Air Force and what factors effected job placement and availability. The econo-political and social environments from 1948 until the present are provided. A chronological review of any implementation which effected women in the Air Force and could be related for or against the combat exclusion policy is contained in the thesis.

An analysis of the policy from 1948 until the present suggests that Air Force women are daily moving closer to the field of combat. This reality is generated by economics and personnel requirements. Women comprise 13 % of the Air Force and can be employed in over 99% of the available jobs. It appears that it is just a matter of time before 100% job availability is achieved. The thesis recommends a proactive posture be taken toward that end.

USAF WOMEN IN COMBAT POLICY AND
IMPLEMENTATION IN THE ALL-VOLUNTEER FORCE

I. Introduction

Overview

Records of women in combat go back as far as history itself (14:32). United States history contains many incidents of women in combat (7:1; 8:98; 9:51). During the recent invasion of Panama, women were present and took part in the action (1:12). Yet the law as it presently stands does not allow women to be in combat (96:11; 99:46). This paper will investigate the apparent disconnect between what is written and what has happened.

This paper looks at the policy on women in combat from 1948 to the present. Beginning with Public Law 625, The Women's Armed Services Integration Act, the paper isolates one issue of the Act - combat exclusion - and the policies and implementation of the policies generated by this law.

To many, the issue of combat exclusion is an adventuresome and emotional subject (31:1; 34:63; 35:45). It is a springboard for other issues which may or may not be related to combat such as equality, promotions, effectiveness, and leadership (90:13; 94:45; 99:60). In an effort to be as nonbiased as possible, this paper will look at combat exclusion strictly from the perspective of the official written policy and its implementation. The salient

point here is the evolution of the concept of combat exclusion. What was the policy in 1948? What is it today? How was it implemented then and how do we implement it today? Does it still hold the same effect? For this research, the scope of these questions is deliberately limited to the Air Force responses to the law. The policy is public law; and therefore, each branch of the Armed Services is responsible for carrying out the law within the confines of that service mission.

This paper will address only the Air Force's implementation of the policy. Chapter 1 provides a general introduction to the material including a history of women in the Armed Forces. Chapter 2 investigates the available literature concerning women in combat, focusing on women in the Air Force. It also addresses the literature concerning policy implementation and analysis. Chapter 3 combines the methodological selection used to review the policy and implementation analysis. Chapter 4 provides the methodological review and analysis of the policy and its implementation. Lastly, Chapter 5 discusses the conclusions derived from the analysis of Chapter 4.

This chapter presents a brief historical outline of American women in combat from the Revolutionary War through the invasion of Panama. This history will refrain from any commentary concerning the Combat Exclusion Law. The historical overview contributes the background examination

of the Combat Exclusion Law and the conflicts which were affected by it. Using that as a foundation, policy and implementation analysis is presented and explained; and defined as to their use and importance in this paper.

Background

History of Women in the U.S. Armed Forces. Since the Revolutionary War, America has always had a fighting force and women have always found a way to serve (87:12; 98:34; 115:3). This service has taken many forms. Molly Pitcher and Deborah Sampson were the most noteworthy female fighters of the Revolutionary War. Both dressed as men in order to serve and fought on the front. History records show that Ms. Sampson was decorated by General George Washington and granted a pension (48:70; 56:5; 61:65). Women of that time who followed in the footsteps of these two women also dressed as men in order to be accepted into the fighting force (42:23; 56:5).

Women served in all branches of the Armed Forces. Lucy Brewer, 'the first girl marine,' served valiantly in the War of 1812 on the USS Constitution (56:5). Women were also counted in the forces of the North and South during the Civil War. Spying and nursing were the forte of those who served. The contribution made by women in these roles did not go unnoticed (83:60). The outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898 prompted Congress, at the request of the Surgeon General, to allow the Army to contract for

civilian nurses. These nurses remained in civilian status until the War's end but the impact of their presence vastly affected the demographics of the Army's medical corp for future wars (56:9).

The role of women in the military centered primarily around nursing until 1917 (48:73; 50:5; 55:6). It was at this time women were enlisted for work in support areas. The Navy and Marine Corps employed women as yeomen, radio operators, and administrative personnel. The Army continued to employ women as nurses only (18:242). It was during World War I that the women were allowed a more active role in service. The United States military needed auxiliary personnel in order to free able bodied men to meet the expected fighting demands on the foreign fronts (8:97; 31:33; 43:22). The influx of women into previously male defined and dominated positions such as typing and clerking was acceptable because of commercial business practice and success of hiring women for these jobs. As time passed, these positions evolved into the sole domain of the services' women's auxiliary corps (56:12). The role of women in the Armed Services changed during World War II (WWII). Women served in the medical field as well as support specialties such as supply, fuels, transportation, and administration. This expansion categorically gave women increased opportunity to serve and respond in greater numbers to more challenging jobs under varied conditions

(56:50; 113:55). A prime example of this was the activation of female air transport crews (115:16).

Women's roles in military service developed increasingly in the years following WWII. During the Korean War and Vietnam Conflict, women continued to serve in medical and support fields. Approximately 10,000 women served in these two conflicts in the same capacity as their predecessors (64:12). The conflicts of this last decade show women serving geographically closer to actual combat. For example, some of the Strategic Airlift Command tankers supporting the fighter-bombers during the raid on Libya were piloted and crewed by females. The same holds true for the Military Airlift Command cargo aircraft landing in Grenada and Panama (47:60; 50:5; 57:6). The Army forces deployed to Grenada and Panama contained women. The Army engaged in combat at both places. It was noted that women fought alongside men in Panama in open fire fights (1:12).

Legislation and Policy. The Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948 set the stage for women in combat or more specifically, for women to be excluded from combat. The law addressed many issues concerning women in the military. Highlights of the law are: it provided a permanent place for women in the Armed Services, capped the numbers of women allowed on active duty, designated the categories of jobs, specified the percent of female officer

and enlisted personnel allowed in the active force, and it excluded women from combat.

Each branch of service had their own title under the law which stated exactly what women's roles within the branch were. Women in the Air Force and the Navy were restricted to non-combat related duties. The Army, Coast Guard, and Marines had discretionary rights as to the placement of women in their branch. The Marines' ability to place women where they saw fit was hampered by the restrictions set upon the Navy (36:83; 47:6-7).

Combat and combat exclusion were not really an issue until after the Vietnam Conflict. That is not to say that women were not in areas of combat or under fire until then. Women had served in Korea in the combat zone, indeed there were six female POWs released from Bataan after WWII (44:84; 48:78). Although combat medals were awarded to some women, in many cases women were not recognized for being in combat because to give credit was to admit women engaged in war fighting (115:18).

Promotability was viewed as the primary consequence of combat. The gnawing question became 'Can a woman rise in rank the same as her male counterpart with all things being equal except combat duty?' The crux of the question is 'all things being equal.' According to the civil rights and feminists movements, participation in combat was the last frontier to full and total equality (34:58).

Crossing the frontier meant recognizing and understanding where it was. Combat was not clearly defined by the Department of Defense until 1978:

The term 'combat' refers to 'engaging an enemy or being engaged by an enemy in armed conflict.' Under current practices, a person is considered to be 'in combat' when he or she is in a geographic area designated as a combat/hostile fire zone by the Secretary of Defense. Members of the armed forces, not in a designated combat/hostile fire zone may be designated as being 'in combat' by the Secretary of Defense based on specific circumstances and events. These definitions apply to men and women of all the services.

A service member in combat is authorized to receive combat/hostile fire pay and earn combat awards. Women have received hostile fire pay and combat awards in past conflicts. Women have served in combat in many skills during World War II, Korea, and Vietnam. Army nurses have served in combat for over a hundred years, although they and other medical personnel are considered non-combatants. Since the word 'combat' has historically been used to include a broad range of activities, the Department of Defense does not believe that the term provides a useful basis for expanding the opportunities for women in the service (56:338).

Combat exclusion does not seem to be an issue when reading the aforementioned paragraphs. Yet, it is referred to by each service under their respective titles in Public Law 625 when the dilemma of allowing or not allowing women in or near combat areas arises (99:46). Since Vietnam, the United States military has utilized women in combat and combat support situations on several specific occasions. These are: El Dorado Canyon (Libya), Operation Urgent Fury (Grenada), and Operation Just Cause (Panama). How did this happen? What exactly is the policy on women in combat and

how well does the Air Force implement it? To clarify this, it is first necessary to define policy, implementation, and analysis of policy implementation.

Policy. According to Pressman and Wildasky, a policy is a formalized mean to achieve a specific set of goals. Examples of this would be providing jobs or education for individuals who are physically, emotionally, or financially challenged. Classic examples of this include the service programs of the early 1970s: Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), General Revenue Sharing (GRS), and Community Development Block Grants (CDBG). An economic example which supports our policy to maintain a strong industrial base is subsidizing United States automobile or aircraft manufacturers. These industries not only are necessary to maintain a strong industrial base but they provide products we need.

Implementation is the road map or method the government or agency uses to work the policy and achieve the intended goal. Just how are we going to educate and train individuals for CETA? Who qualifies? Who decides? How well it all works brings us to the analysis of the implementation. Analysis tells us if we achieved the goal or not (110:11). Did we educate and train the individuals enrolled in the CETA program satisfactorily? All of this seems so easy to put down on paper, trace, and analyze but the area of policy analysis is relatively new and still

defined within the realms of public service policies of the early 1970s (37:22; 49:103; 51:97; 105:16).

The approaches to analyzing public policy are program dependent. If the policy has been in existence a number of years, a longitudinal approach may be best. If the policy is newly implemented, a consulting or research approach may be warranted, evaluating as you go. Some methods are conditionally focused while others are not (72:67; 109:79; 117:53).

General Issue

In light of the combat exclusion policy, all this means that at one time there were some very specific policies concerning women in the military held by Congress and their constituents. Since 1948, there appears to have been a change in these beliefs, as evidenced by the recent excursion to Panama. Has the fundamental policy changed or has the policy been a matter of interpretation all along? What has been the policy toward women in combat since 1948 and specifically how has the Air Force implemented it?

Investigative Questions

This paper examines policy on women in combat and its implementation by the Air Force. The specific questions addressed are:

1. What has been the DOD policy on women in combat since 1948?

2. What have the Air Force regulations written concerning women in combat since 1948?
3. What Air Force jobs are considered combat related?
4. Historically, where have women in the Air Force been employed?

Summary

This paper looks at the policy of women in combat and how the Air Force implements that policy. Policy, implementation, and analysis of implementation are defined. Beginning with the policy in 1948 and any subsequent change, the study looks at what the law states, what the Air Force regulations stated in adherence to the law, and what actually happened.

The next chapter looks at the literature addressing women in combat and literature concerning policy implementation, and analysis. It provides a review of what's been written on women in combat from 1948 until March 1990. The literature on policy, policy implementation, and policy analysis is reviewed from its classical period to the present. The chapter explains how both these subjects will be used in the thesis topic.

II. Literature Review

The Issue: Military Women and Combat Exclusion

The Armed Services Integration Act, PL 625, spelled out how women in each branch of service were to be utilized. Combat exclusion was directly dictated to the Air Force and the Navy. The Army had discretionary power to employ women in any job the mission required but the undercurrent was entirely clear--no combat (56:118). This chapter explores, via the literature available, what has been written on combat exclusion from 1948 until the present. Much has been written on women in the military through the years. Unfortunately few specific writings which discuss women in combat objectively are readily available. Many articles appear to be emotionally charged and opinion based versus data or fact based. Therefore, every attempt to reflect what has been written or said on the topic has been made, but the author saw no reason to add various repetitions of the same pro or con of the issue. For example, a contention against women in combat is the reported lack of physical strength of women. As this is one of the most often cited reasons why women should not be placed in combat, the author saw no reason to repeat this every time it was referenced. The chapter further explains the different types of policy: service, social, or product oriented. It defines the processes of policy analysis available and how they are used

to determine how well a policy has been implemented. The chapter concludes by introducing the method selected for this thesis.

Women in Combat: 1948-1960

The two percent ceiling on the total number of women allowed in the Armed Services imposed by PL625 helped to keep women out of the firing line. Women worked in jobs similar to their civilian counterparts. Civilian employment for women targeted the areas of teaching, nursing, and clerking--these were the strict domain of women (56:102; 99:63). Most jobs, professions, and tasks of this decade were gender oriented. This is not to say that other professions were not open or did not employ women, but rather, the concentration where in the aforementioned three. Therefore, those women who chose the military as a profession or way of life were sometimes considered to be misfits. Electing to follow a typically male tradition versus a traditional feminine one brought forth commentaries and inferences such as the women must be oriented toward masculine or immoral behavior (29:30; 56:72; 94:44).

In this era the attitude that women in the military really did not belong in combat was not an issue. The crux of the debate centered on women in the military and the appropriateness of that placement. The arguments on the subject addressed the areas of spiritual, physical, mental, and emotional fitness (14:56; 29:31-32).

Spiritually, women were expected to be good and wholesome, morally sound, chaste, wise, and supports to the men in the family (16:76). Qualities of peacefulness, serenity, and servitude did not exactly fit a female soldier or airman. Concerns over the physical demand of combat and military service were voiced by the legislators and implementors who questioned women's ability to literally carry their own weight. Mentally and emotionally women were viewed as children and attributed the qualities thereof (12:3-4). Against this foundation of opinion, the issue of women in combat became a non-issue. In World War II women carved a niche for themselves. The Korean War itself did little to promote one way or the other the issue of women in the military much less women in combat (6:98).

The American public was not emotionally or physically prepared for the Korean War. It was trying to get back on its feet from World War II. The men were returning home to resume life as they knew it. Rosie the Riveter went back to her domestic haven. Polls indicated people wanted ranch style homes and Sunday afternoon barbecues, not another war (17:89). Even in the midst of such attitudes, President Truman needed bodies, male and female, to go to war. He launched an unsuccessful campaign to increase the number of women in the military. Again, issues did not center around the exclusion of women from combat but, rather, whether women belonged in the military (6:3; 18:89; 26:94). The

Korean War indicated that each service had begun to depend on the support of women in order to achieve and maintain their mobilization plans (56:157).

Women in Combat: 1961-1973

From 1945 to the 1960s is referred to as the "doldrums" for women's issues. This view can be taken concerning women in the military from 1951-1966. Not much was happening legislatively (82:6). Policy toward women in the service was one of maintaining the status quo. The Vietnam conflict caused dramatic change in this policy. Women in Vietnam served in various capacities but by far the predominant female force was in nursing (65:11). Women, were and still are viewed as non-combatants. Therefore, women serving anywhere in Vietnam were not considered to be in combat. Never-the-less, news coverage of the conflict did show women in areas where combat occurred but not as combatants. This appears to be the beginning of the initial break between policy and implementation and is examined more closely in Chapter 4. Let it suffice to say the issue of women in combat was nebulous at best, as combat was not legally (legislatively) defined until 1978. The gravity of this conflict in the face of the media was the morality of the war and what sort of individual would be involved in it (13:15; 59:26). Media coverage of the American soldier during Vietnam was extremely unglamorous (68:132; 69:210). Information concerning military women in Vietnam did not

appear to be well recorded or deemed important. To date, the records vary as to how many women served in Vietnam. History does indicate that women did receive combat pay and medals for service in Southeast Asia (SEA) (65:15). Some also died there. But whether women could, would, or should fight was a matter discussed between commanders and in memos to personnel centers (56:207). Women were not wanted in SEA in other than nurse positions. The reasons given appeared to be based on sexuality versus performance or task proficiency (29:31). This was soon to change with the inception of the all-volunteer force in 1973. It is at this juncture women were beginning to be seen differently.

Women in Combat: 1973-1980

True to his campaign word, Richard M. Nixon ended the Vietnam Conflict and the draft. Thus began the need for an All Volunteer Force. This action coupled with the movement towards the Equal Rights Amendment provided the impetus needed to give women more opportunities within the military (2:16; 4:89; 7:10; 11:46; 19:75). Popular belief held strongly to the notion that no matter how liberated a nation we were or how equal we allowed women to be, America did not want her mothers, sisters, wives, aunts, or girlfriends walking off to war. Morality, physical strength, and mental aptitude along with many other concerns which addressed the fitness of women in the military and in the face of combat were postulated by members of Congress and other who opposed

full integration of women in the Armed Services (29:31). But even with high powered opposition the wave of equality was being felt. Issues addressing equal treatment for married females, pregnancy, and dependents were brought up and legally questioned. Quite literally there was no way to turn back the tide of equality and the ensuing legislation (56:274).

Women in Combat: 1981-1990

During the Reagan administration, the focus for the military was defense via technology and rebuilding the American military image at home and abroad (3:31; 21:3-4; 22:6; 41:1; 42:4; 72:12). Issues surrounding personnel concentrated on readiness and specifically just how ready we were (11:55; 20:2-3; 21:10-11; 22:6; 33:2-5). With that thought in mind, just how do women contribute to the overall readiness of the military (70:54-56; 79:22; 87:14; 100:21; 101; 102:35-48)? During these ten years women's roles expanded greatly in order to meet the decline in male recruitment and also to meet the projected target strength of women in the military (103:67-90; 104:55-56). Women were integrated into missile crew duty, most airframes, sea duty, and job specialties. For example, as of April 1990, women in the Air Force were restricted from less than one percent of the job opportunities allowed men (AFR 35-60). The reason for the last stanchion - the combat exclusion law.

Women in Combat: Combat Exclusion

Combat exclusion from 1948-1990 boils down to these arguments for and against:

FOR COMBAT EXCLUSION:

- Combat is a 'man's job'
- Combat is unsuitable for women and women should be protected from it
- The presence of women in combat would destroy a unit's effectiveness
- Women are physically weaker and cannot maintain their end of defense
- Presence of women in combat would signal to other nations that the United States was weak.

AGAINST COMBAT EXCLUSION:

- Women have historically served in combat roles and performed them well
- This is the last bastion of sexual discrimination to surrender
- Women should be afforded equal opportunity in and to all jobs
- Equality in citizenship - are only male citizens allowed to die for their country
- Necessity, in order to fulfill our readiness requirements we can no longer fight a war without women so train and prepare them (29::30).

Addressing women in combat, as many writers pointed out, is an element of a much larger societal issue that goes beyond the realm of this thesis. This is the American peoples assumptions concerning sex, gender, and society (26:92; 35:45-46; 55:6; 60:575). Addressing the subject and actuality of women in combat directly confronts the larger societal issues (29:32). Resolution appears to be dependent upon our willingness to challenge traditional beliefs and accept present day realities.

Policy Implementation and Analysis

The literature concerning policy, its implementation, and analysis is relatively new. Prior to the 1970s, little was written about policy. A reason given for this is that there was no need. Not until the civil rights movement of the 1960s and the subsequent legislation which it generated did policy analysis become vogue (58:27). This section refers to many policies and programs which evolved during that timeframe, 1960s and 1970s, and uses them as examples to illustrate how and why policy is implemented. This prepares the reader for the analysis in Chapter 4.

Similarly, these programs are referenced when discussing methods of policy analysis. Because these policies and programs came about during a time of great social conflict for the United States, the possibility for an emotional response to some of the material exists. It is not the intent of this section to elicit emotional responses but to inform the reader of the facts surrounding the issue. Various policies are addressed in order to provide adequate and accurate examples of policy implementation and analytical choices.

Past policies which caused upheaval included the right of black men to vote in 1865 and the right of women to vote in 1921. These policies did not invoke the catalytic effect as did the Civil Rights movement. Yet to understand what was so different about this time and its influence on public

policy is to be aware that the convergence of many political, social, and environmental factors on America and its people stimulated drastic changes in the way life in the United States was lived.

These new influences challenged former ways of living and traditional value systems while preaching an attitude of internal and external exploration. It is this stage which provides the setting for reform and new policies. It is also against this backdrop that the literature on policy is born. By the time researchers were able to take stock of the effects from policy initiatives of the 1960s, the 1970s were in full swing. Policy analysis was in its infancy but political scientists and researchers were beginning to comprehend and decipher more on what made policy tick. How it came about, the methods of implementation, what made successful policy, and how to access it were the questions raised and investigated. Armed with this information, implementors and makers of policy increased their opportunity to improve in the future. Therefore, the literature review on policy, implementation, and analysis gains much of its strength from this classical period in policy development, implementation, and analysis.

Policy has been in evidence for as long as people have lived in groups (14:16). Policy can be as simple as having Christmas dinner at Grandmother's every year or as complex as feeding the homeless of the United States each Christmas.

One policy pertains to a select group of citizens and can be called an internal policy or tradition. The other is targeted toward a larger societal group, the homeless of America, and is therefore defined as public policy.

Public policy includes the following elements: a goal or set of goals and the means to achieve them. This is postulated in the statement of intent within the policy. The policy then goes further to initiate the necessary laws to achieve to equality of intent and action (78:17). Using the example of Christmas dinner, people and lawmakers in America may find it inconceivable that individuals and families have little to eat during the Judaic and Christian winter holidays. This sentiment may evoke a policy which states or indicates that federal, state, local, and private organizations should increase efforts to feed the homeless at Hanukkah and Christmas. Further, Congress may allocate monies to assist these agencies in carrying out the policy. This would fulfill the requirements of policy: goal, means of achievement, and equality of intent and action. In reality, policy is hardly so simple and traceable (105:34).

It was not until the Civil Rights movement in the early 1960s that policy began to take on a more deliberate form than traditions that had evolved into public policy. Until that time much of public policy was likened to holiday dining at grandmother's. It was traditional. Tradition dictated that black people gave their seats to white people

on buses, did not sit at the same seats in restaurants, or use the same drinking fountains. Similarly, it was traditional that women were paid less than men, black men less than white men, and discrimination based on race, color, sex, or creed was acceptable. These traditions, customs, or policy also provided the basis for law in many areas. In other areas they were the law. (58:63). As the growing tide of unrest increased, the government responded with policy targeted toward changing these tradition and laws of discrimination (73:63).

According to Peters, "... public policy is the sum of activities of governments, whether acting directly or through agents, as it has an influence on the lives of its citizens." Meaning the government has the power and the obligation to ensure the Constitutional rights of each individual are protected and enhanced to the fullest potential possible. This is often easier said than done (78:75).

Congress passed the Civil Rights Act in 1964 which directly impacted and attacked long standing beliefs and accepted policies. Of primary concern to supporters of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 were Title VII and Title IX of the Civil Rights Act (58:93). These addressed equality in the workplace and equality in education. The policy to create equality for all people in America regardless of sex, color, race, or creed did not meet with the approval of all the

population as evidenced by the severe unrest and violence recorded (40:20). Even as much as 25 years after passage of the Civil Rights Act, there are documented cases before the Supreme Court claiming that this policy is still not fully supported by all people (58:80). This may suggest the policy was not well implemented or means and methods of implementation not well researched, if researched at all (78:14). A more glaring point suggests that individuals choose to remain or become prejudice.

Policy Implementation

Policy is implemented by one or more different methods which may be combined as required. The primary instruments of policy implementation are law or legislation, services, money, taxes, other economic instruments, and suasion (76:13). A vital element to be considered along with these instruments is the environment in which the implementation is to take place. Is the environment hostile, affluent, needy, whatever? When this is ascertained, the effective selection of implementation methods can be derived in order to obtain policy goals. Again, using the Civil Rights movement as an example, and reviewing the historical account of Dr. Martin Luther King's march to Selma, history records that, even with the law behind him and the vocal and physical support of the U.S. Attorney General, Dr. King still encountered much violence along his route. It is observed that the South of the early 1960s was not an

environment which encouraged racial equality, thus, making implementation of the Civil Rights Act all the more difficult in this area of the country.

In order to achieve the policy of equality first, law in the form of the Civil Rights Act was implemented. Then follow-on legislation to support the law was passed. Subsequent implementation efforts tied into suasion, a firm and focused variation of persuasion, and other economic measures. If a company wanted a government contract, then it had to comply with the law. If state and local governments wanted monies for development or industrial growth, they must supply proof that minority labor or businesses were being sought after and used (76:20).

At the same time, other methods to promote equality were investigated. Housing and education were prime examples. Programs such as Headstart, Grant Block Development, and Comprehensive Educational Training Assistance, to name a few, rose up as methods of policy implementation. Mainstream education and subsidized housing had to show equal opportunity to all requesters. As these were far reaching, vast programs and required a large budget, Congress wanted to be sure the money was getting to where it was needed, thereby concretely showing support for the federal policy of equality. Additionally, efforts to create and enforce equality were not limited to persons of

color but included women and the physically and emotionally challenged.

Examining policy and implementation begs the question why one method of implementation is chosen over another. Often it is just decided as a good move based on a committee or individual's past experience in the matter. It can often be politically motivated to assist a particular state or district. Whatever the argument, the main reason is to support and fulfill the goal or set of goals set forth in and by the policy.

Policy Analysis

To determine how well a policy achieves or achieved its goal or set of goals is the sole area of policy analysis. Analysis looks at how well the implementation satisfies and achieves the policy goal(s). Authors agree that there are five most often used methods of analysis: consulting or research, empirical, forward mapping, backward mapping, and longitudinal (78:19; 109:10-12; 110:6-7; 117:8). The literature also points out that the driver of the analysis lies in the implementations and how long the policies have been in existence. Van Horn suggests that the bottom line analysis can be addressed by first defining the difference between policy implementation and policy impact. This is accomplished by asking a series of questions which he believes help to direct the student or reader toward the true essence of the policy and the implementation. A

historical account of the legislation is required. This is then analyzed using directive questions. The first set of questions fall under program performance. A key element of this is to know and understand the goal of the stated policy. Often policymakers are intentionally vague and policy goals particularly hard to glean. Therefore, questions such as what happened, who governs, how are the funds spent, and who benefits are helpful in focusing on the issues behind the policy (105:23).

The next step according to Van Horn is to explain the program performance. The question 'Why did it happen this way?' points the researcher in the direction of the answer. This question allows the investigator to ferret out the nuances of performance and their foundation. Elements to concentrate on include but are not limited to: policy standards and resources, national policy environment, and local policy environment. In brief, the focus is on what the law says regarding the policy intent and the level at which resources will be dedicated to it. Additionally, it is essential to assess the threat and or effect any interest groups might have on the policy and its implementation at the national, state, and local levels (110:16-18).

Subsequent schools of thought suggest that implementation studies and analysis can yield pertinent, sound, and timely information to those who formulate and execute policy if they listen and adhere to lessons learned

in the analysis (37:28; 76:27; 109:18). Authors agree that a useful analysis comes from an appropriate framework for the program or policy being analyzed (109:12; 110:18; 117:34).

Policy analysts select an approach based on the policy investigated. What type of policy is it? How long has it been in existence? Is it a singular program targeted toward one interest or is it a large scale program with many factors to consider? Which factor is counted toward success and which towards failure? Therefore, selecting the appropriate format hinges on the physical aspects of the policy and measurements desired (5:16).

As stated earlier, one of the more common methods of analysis is the consulting and or research approach. Exemplary studies are also included in this category. Analyses in this area can begin at implementation or not. This aspect is peculiar to this approach. Consulting allows implementors to refine the program as it goes. Therefore it depends on when the consultant was called in on the project as to when she/he begins. Consultants often use exemplary studies in their formats. These studies supply the necessary information implementors need and are readily used as they are case histories of true actions that went well or terribly. Implementors can read and learn from another's successes or failures. This can save valuable time and money if pitfalls are recognized and avoided early.

Integral to the effective use of this method is the validity of the data collected and the similarity between the program and process of the policy in implementation and the historical one (110:25-27; 117:18-24).

Empirical analysis of a policy is only as good as the data collected and kept. The data reviewed must be pertinent to the policy. If the aim of the policy is to increase Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores in children of lower income households, factors that are known to improve performance need to be determined and tracked. The school sustenance programs began that way because data indicated that children where fed could concentrate better than those who were not. The ability to concentrate was considered to be a factor in retaining information which directly related to learning and academic performance skills. SAT scores of the recipients of this program would then be tracked, along with the money spent. This information may be helpful in determining if the program was successful or not. Therefore, not only should data be collected on the money spent for porridge, peanut butter, and cheese to feed 'x' amount but also data on how many children were planned for and how many ate well. As eating well is a subjective phrase, a definition provided by an recognized authority in the area would be used. Often empirical data comes from information written on an implementation program and analysts use that. Or if the

analysis has a particular question to resolve he/she may use questionnaires or interviews to obtain the data (5:44).

Methods of analysis looking at fully implemented programs are forward mapping, backward mapping, and the longitudinal analysis. Forward mapping begins at the halls of Congress, deciphering Congressional intent (37:19)) and then it outlines the federal regulations and administrative actions in line with that intent. Forward mapping ferrets out the complexities of hierarchy and seeks to eliminate confusion and gray areas in policy performance. Forward mapping goes after the goals from the top down. It looks to define the stated goals and or objectives, the specific steps for achieving them, and find and confirm and measures of merit by which success or failure can be determined.

Backward mapping is the opposite of the aforementioned approach. It takes a look at the program from the recipients' point of view and traces the program back to Congress or from whence it came. Backward mapping traces the more physical aspects of the program. Using the school lunch program as an example, a researcher may find that children receive peanut butter and jelly toast every school day in warm weather and porridge in cold weather. Yet when she examines food invoices, there are such things as powdered eggs, fresh fruit, pancake mix, and instant grits. Further investigation reveals that all these items have been paid for and purchased but there is insufficient time to

prepare them for the children, as they only have twenty minutes to eat. This is a waste of money, time, and resources at one of the lowest levels. Additional investigation may reveal more. As Pressman and Wildasky point out in Implementation: How Great Expectations in Washington Are Dashed in Oakland, often what is envisioned as occurring is far removed from what really does occur. Backward mapping tries to eliminate this by identifying pitfalls which seem to recur in any type program.

All the above methods may be used within the longitudinal approach. This approach reviews implementation historically. It uses many of the same items found within the other techniques but this study dissects a long standing policy or program. It examines the policy goals and if they were achieved. If the policy is still in effect, questions such as how well is the implementation keeping pace with the policy are raised and answered. Longitudinal studies usually trace programs which appear to have a long shelf life, checking to see who got what, when, where, and did it equal the policy statement and intent (109:32).

Researchers agree that it is integral to all these methods concerning policy analysis to place the analysis in the political, social, and environmental framework it addresses. For example, the landmark case for abortion, Roe versus Wade, stood as a hallmark for women's rights since 1973. It was greeted with much acclaim on its passage, but

today it is challenged, as it was prior to 1973 (58:32).

Currently, the environment has changed and the Right-to-Life campaign gained more support. Thus legislation is changing to reflect this very different stance.

Use of Analysis

Succinctly stated analysis provides information as to the equality of policy statement and intent and its accomplishment. Analysis can tell us if the implementation successfully achieved the policy goal. Although most policy studies are socially oriented, there are those that are product oriented. Defense is a prime example.

Implementation of the policy to maintain a viable military force included strengthening our defense posture. This meant increasing the number of defense product lines: personnel, tanks, aircraft, etc. Policy analyses of programs that issue a product as a goal are sometimes easier to perform due to specified concrete objectives. It maybe easier to count 12 B-1 bombers as a means to a goal than to identify and inoculate every unvaccinated child in Appalachia.

Counting successes in social programs can be much harder because there may be no clear cut means to achieve the policy. The housing reforms started in Oakland, California in the 1970s are a prime example of this. Policy makers in Congress wanted to improve minority and low-income housing as well as job placement and development. Their plans included hiring small and disadvantaged contractors to

assist in this building and rebuilding of the Oakland development. No clear cut plan as to how to go about this was given to the city fathers. They were only instructed to improve the housing situation and use minority labor to do it. As Pressman and Wildavsky report, the plan was a fiasco and became a huge sink hole for government monies. The lesson of a good policy and well intentioned implementation plan not equaling success is displayed well here.

Williams provides many examples of federal, state, and local agencies failing to implement a policy due to lack of foresight. Special emphasis is placed on the failure to look at the people aspect of the environment. This single item can adversely impact the best thought out and well intentioned policy implementation (109:22; 110). Authors agree that no matter what approach is used for analysis, special consideration should be given to the political, economic, and social environment for the duration of the policy and its implementation.

Selected Use

This thesis looks at a policy of exclusion of women from combat over a 42 year period. A longitudinal approach with backward mapping will be used. This will allow the researcher to examine the environment in which the policy was generated and what climate evoked policy changes. Additionally, the research is limited to the impact the policy had on the Air Force. This assists in ascertaining

how the policy was implemented by the Air Force and how successful the implementation was and is.

Approach

The question concerning women in combat has been occurring since women first began to fight. In 1948, the policy excluding women from combat was issued within the Armed Service Integration Act. This thesis looks at the policy and its implementation within the Air Force using a longitudinal approach to the analysis and complementing it with dissecting the implementation process through backward mapping.

The Longitudinal Approach with Backward Mapping

Using the historical tack, this approach provides the opportunity to review the policy within the environment under which it was born and maintained. Women's exclusion from combat has been public policy since 1948. During these 42 years, many changes have taken place, each with merits and effects of its own. Yet this policy appears to have remained virtually unchanged. Implementation of the combat exclusion policy certainly has undergone change since 1948.

Backward mapping is used to determine if there is a discrepancy between what the policy dictates and what is actually happening. Tracing the law from 1948 until the present in view of the political, economical, and social environment at each state of the law may provide insight

necessary to understand the implementation procedures the Air Force employed.

The measuring stick used is job placement. Jobs are specialty coded into different disciplines and combat relatedness. Determining where women worked and work indicates how well the Air Force implemented the law with the constraints of the policy and the environment.

Summary

This chapter addressed the literature concerning women in combat and the issues surrounding the Combat Exclusion Law. The review also discussed the literature that relates and explains policy. Examples of how policy comes about and how it will be addressed in the thesis was discussed. The methodology selected is a longitudinal review with backward mapping. This technique is used because the policy has been in effect, at the time of this writing for over 42 years. The historical and evolving environment report an impact on the policy and its implementation. This approach provides a way to discern how the environment influenced implementation and adherence to the law. Using backward mapping allows the thesis to pursue a concrete measure that is continuous and trackable over time. Thus, providing continuity in the measure regardless of the environment. Women were always in the military, but were they ever in combat?

III. Analysis

Introduction

This chapter examines the changing environment surrounding the combat exclusion policy and the environment of each implementation change. Using the historical approach combined with backward mapping, this chapter begins by providing the econo-political synopsis. The social environment is addressed and then the change the total environment prompted. The course of history is documented and therefore the 'things' that happened are not footnoted as they a matter of public record. Opinions or analysis as to why certain events took place are referenced.

Beginning with 1948 and 1956, the chapter addresses the two years in which the law was affected. The review of the sixties, seventies, and eighties provides the information background necessary to see what prompted implementation changes. The chapter further discusses the particular social atmosphere which effected implementation change.

Econo-Political Environment

1948. Noteworthy events this year are as follows: Russia invades Czechoslovakia, the cold war becomes colder, Truman is elected President, communism tries to shunt capitalism at every corner, and the Berlin airlift demonstrated air power and allied forces at their best. Additional stories which highlight the news were Israel

became a nation, Mahatma Ghandi was assassinated, the Dutch brought 'police action' against Indonesia, Marshall Tito's rift with the Soviet Union, the hanging of Hideki Tojo and six Japanese warlords, and last but not least, the high cost of living in the U.S.

The conflict between the two super powers, the United States and Russia, was speckled by a parry-thrust type of relationship. As one historian put it in 1949, 'Both sides had great economic, political, and military power and neither was inclined to compromise on basic issues. The question in the minds of the world's two billion-odd people at the end of 1948 was whether the struggle could be resolved eventually without a war. For such a war it was generally realized on both sides, would result in the destruction of civilization of the entire planet' (38:4).

Against such a backdrop America lived. The point-counterpoint tally follows: The Soviets tried to blockade Berlin; the U.S. counter with airlift. Eastern Europe was slowly but surely coming under Communist control. A prime example was the invasion and take over of Czechoslovakia. Yet, the effect of Marshall Tito (*Yugoslavia) not bowing to the Soviets did not go unnoticed by them or the free world. This gave many Westerners hope that the Soviet Union would be unable to completely satellite Europe. This fear of

Communism was beginning to effect the U.S. by early signs of McCarthyism.

Preservation of the Western or capitalistic way of life was first and foremost in the minds and hearts of the American public, Western Europe, and their elected officials. In Europe the Marshall Plan was in full swing. Considerable economic recovery moved smoothly and Communist strength at the polls declined. At the end of the year Western Europe was consolidating on both the military and economic fronts.

Asia, however, was a different story. Chinese communists swept the Nationalists out of Manchuria. Before the year's end they claimed most of the land north of the Yangtze river and knocked the door of Chang Kai Chek. The prospect of the advent of another great Communist nation with a population much larger than our own or the Soviet Union greeted the world as 1948 faded out (38, 1).

Nations did put aside ideologies to come to agreement on one item on the United Nations agenda. The mass murder of 6,000,000 individuals, primarily Jewish, outraged the civilized world, yet this crime against humanity was perpetrated by a civilized nation. In an effort to prohibit such an occurrence, the UN members agreed to outlaw genocide. Additionally, members agreed on a Universal Bill of Rights.

Prices continued to climb. According to one economist of the time, de Haas, "Basic inflationary factors that had caused the post war boom continued to operate and new factors seemed to give promise of supporting the upward trend." (14:3) Conversely spending was also on the rise. Incomes of the three main labor forces: farming, management, and labor rose dramatically from the pre war years, 83%, 64%, and 35%, respectively. Yet this was not enough to meet prices as many people were dipping into savings in order to buy what post-war technology could offer.

Even though the war had been over for three years, the economy still felt its effects. "Shortages of basic materials, although less pronounced, continued to exist and stimulate price increases. The basic materials most seriously affected were cement, lumber, and chemicals." (14:15) Behind most of the industrial shortages was steel. Even though its production had risen quantities did not meet the demand thus putting a higher price on all goods using steel. Besides the lack of raw materials, other economic signs of the times included the reduction of grain prices, reduction in business loans, rise in unemployment, and decline in national income. Future directions indicated more government spending by the Truman administration. The top priorities were low cost housing, increased social security benefits, public works, and defense spending. In

the middle of the year, 12 June 1948, President Truman signed PL 625 into effect, the Women's Armed Service Integration Act.

1956. According to news commentator Walter Cronkite, American news during the first half of 1956 was dominated by domestic problems and minor international skirmishes. By the end of the year, the eyes of many people and nations were riveted on the final outcome from Egyptian takeover of the Suez Canal and the Soviet military action in Hungary.

News worthy items during the year included such things as the desegregation of buses in the south and the violence which ensued, the marriage of screen star Grace Kelly to Prince Rainier III of Monaco, the sinking of the Italian passenger liner, Andrea Doria, and the rescue of its crew and passengers. The year was beleagued with international news which effected U.S. concerns. Kruchev appeared to be a different type of leader than Stalin. He invited the Air Force Chief of Staff, General Nathan Twining, to attend the 1956 Russian Air Show. Krushev and selected Communist party officials visited Great Britain. Marshall Tito, Yugoslavia's president, was invited and made welcome in Moscow. The action characterized Kruchev's and Bulgaria's efforts to present a new humanized, 'de-Stalinized' Soviet Union to the world. Kruschev went so far as to denounce Stalin for his behavior in decrying him a 'tyrant by terror'. Premire Bulgarian constantly communicated to President Eisenhower

that the 'spirit of Geneva' was in vogue in the Kremlin and that the Cold War was on the decline.

Yet notwithstanding the rhetoric the Soviets provided substantial aid to Egypt in the form of arms, trade, and assistance. This was viewed by many on Capital Hill as a blatant attempt to win Egyptian as 'Soviet ally'.

While the Soviets were consorting with Egypt, the U.S. withdrew an offer of aid to Egypt. Egypt, with the help of U.S. monies, intended to build a dam at Aswan on the Nile. This project was deemed by President Nassar as vital to Egypt's growth. When the U.S. backed off Nassar retaliated by seizing the Suez Canal and proclaiming all profits from use of passage would be directed to building the Aswan Dam. The action had cataclysmic results around the globe.

Britain and France were ready to go to war while the U.S. debated the pros and cons of such a commitment. In the mean time, the Kremlin did all it could to continue its support of Nassau. The Israelis ended the debate on what to do. In an act which was as much of a surprise as Nassar taking over the Suez, Israel invaded Egypt. Immediately, Britain and France joined Israel in an effort to regain the Suez. This set off intense negotiations at the United Nations and only towards the year's end did France and Britain retreat. Israel quit the offensive after capturing the Gaza Strip thereby projecting its boarders beyond advisable cost recapture. The Egyptians had suffered at the hands of

Israel in this skirmish and were not about to engage them in the near future.

Initially, the Soviets looked upon the West's problems with pleasure until unrest exploded in satellite countries. Riots in Poland and Hungary broke out decrying their need for freedom. The Soviets, while the eyes of the world focused upon them, looked as though they truly might have given up Stalin-like responses. Yet when attention focused on Israel and the invasion of Egypt, the Soviets took this opportunity to squelch these uprisings by making an example of the Hungarian revolution. The Russian army attacked rebels in Budapest and other Hungarian cities with massive force totally annihilating the revolution and dispelling any doubt as to what their real policy was on Stalinism or Stalinistic behavior.

The world was appalled by the Soviet demonstration and immediately opened its doorways to the Hungarian refugees pouring out across the border. The American people were nervous about the Hungarian and Israeli acts fearing the United States would commit to military support in one region or another. President Eisenhower reassured the American public this would not occur.

On the home front, the presidential election occupied the minds of most. Issues facing the candidates stemmed from many areas. Segregationists were all for keeping a young black minister, Martin Luther King, Jr. and his

followers from gaining constitutionally defended desegregation legislation. King had, in 1955, led a successful boycott of the Montgomery, Alabama bus system. This worried many Southern segregationists especially as the flow to equality was beginning to effect more than just the transportation systems of cities and towns. Anything else was considered a non-issue. Desegregation was not viewed as a key point in the election.

Debates over aid to agriculture (crops) and farm-aid (equipment) were important topics in the House and Senate. Additionally, federally subsidized house, defense and foreign aid gained notoriety as election year topics.

America set a new record for production of goods and services and total employment. Economists noted that prosperity and growth continued upward. Unemployment capped at 3 million during the year and corporate profits were considered well maintained. Attitudes and opinions of both consumers and producers were considered to be optimistic and healthy. In order to preserve this, the Federal Reserve continued their policy of restraint on credit expansion.

The 1960s - 1980s. Although minimal legislation which effected women in the military passed during the sixties and seventies much of the social and political events of the time effected women drastically. Therefore, from this point on the environmental information will be presented in decade format versus yearly format.

The sixties, like any other decade, was marked by ups and downs. America heralded a new age depicted by the new President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the youngest person to hold that office. The vibrant picture he represented appeared to be the sense of America herself. This picture was quickly tried and tested on the international arena.

Latin America in the sixties saw the calculated and effective movements of Fidel Castro. After coming to power in the late fifties, Castro slowly consolidated Cuban industries under the blanket of nationalism. Without a doubt, Cuba lived and entertained the Communist way of life. Uncomfortable with this political arrangement so close to America shores, the U.S. backed financially and militarily an invasion by Cuban exiles to retake the government. The invasion was a military disaster and internationally took its toll.

Krushev, at a Paris summer conference, took every opportunity to poke fun at President Kennedy on the Bay of Pigs incident. Fueled by the Kennedy's apparent lack of comeback, Krushev began to chip away at American resolve. The first offensive action was to order construction of the Berlin Wall, followed by above-ground nuclear testing. The final blow was his attempt to move missiles into Cuba. The American response to this was a naval blockade of Cuba which left the Soviet Union quiet and the rest of the world breathing sighs of relief.

Other international events which effected the U.S. were the escalation of our role and commitment to South Vietnam in 1963 from 1966. By 1965 this role stopped being termed as advisory and turned to active military and financial support. Although the Vietnam conflict appeared to consume us nationally and internationally, we were effected by other happenings as well. Perhaps the most notable non-U.S. event was the Arab-Israeli War. Incited by Egyptian president Nassar's blockade of the Strait of Tiran, Israel reacted with an early morning attack against Egypt and Jordan. Israel quickly achieved air superiority due to the surprise. The war lasted six days and firmly established Israel as a nation and Nassar's decline.

The internal events which marked the nation this decade were violent ones. The assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King Jr., and Robert F. Kennedy appeared to rob the nation of bright and futuristic leaders. Their deaths, the Vietnam War, and the Civil Rights movement plummeted the nation into turmoil and created an atmosphere for parity.

Arguably the two most noteworthy issues were the Civil Rights movement and the Vietnam War. The Civil Rights Movement was earmarked by violence throughout the decade. Bus boycotts, segregational sit-ins and freedom riders heralded the move towards equal rights and total integration for minorities. Violent response to this was clearly

covered in the South. Nightly news showed police trying to intimidate demonstrators with police dogs and cattle prods. Reports of judges not sentencing whites engaging in violent acts toward blacks were rampant. In 1965, the Civil Rights Act passed and the tide appeared to change. Northern blacks became as violent as Southern whites. Rioting in Los Angeles, New Jersey, Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit speckled the Northern movement towards integration. Slowly but surely the effects of the movement were seen in 1968. Cleveland, Ohio and Gary, Indiana elected black mayors. The most significant event of 1968 concerning the movement was the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. Public reaction was mixed from quick regret to all out mayhem. King's death put the burden of integration on the white leadership of the day.

On the other side was the war in Vietnam. The issues of the 1964 presidential election were dominated by civil rights and increased violence due to integration efforts. By 1965 the war in Vietnam headlined with the Civil Rights Movement. Increased troop strength and intense news coverage of the war increased American distaste for interaction. The effects of bombings, napalm, and military action such as My Lai were highly televised and increased the unpopularity of the war. In effect, Americans did not want to continue to finance the war effort.

Congress also stepped in and began to criticize the military and defense spending. On June 25, 1969, Congress passed a resolution which limited presidential power on resource commitment. Troops, equipment, and monies could no longer be committed without Congressional approval. As one author put it:

Taking all these developments together, one can say that the 1960's saw the need of the bipolar world of the post war era, in which the Soviet Union and, to a greater degree, the United States were predominant. In its place there emerged a truly global and pluralistic system--one in which every nation asserted itself politically. Within the United States, the decade also saw the end of the American public's unquestioning acceptance of authority, with widespread attacks on legally sanctioned racial segregation and pervasive patterns of discrimination as well as militant opposition to the increasingly unpopular war in Vietnam heralding a period of greater assertiveness and heightened political awareness (6:18).

1970. The decade began in the same state the last one ended in--turmoil. The Vietnam war continued to rage on and President Nixon aimed to fulfill his 1968 campaign promise to get our troops out of South East Asia. Yet at the beginning of 1970, 450,000 troops remained in SEA and more were being sent to support the forces. Nixon employed a variety of measures to enable the end of the war.

Initially he appealed to North Vietnam's suppliers, Russia and China, to bring pressure on Ho Chi Minh to come to the peace table. This did not work as well as Nixon hoped. In an effort to bring about the peace with honor he desired Nixon believed intensive bombing of North Vietnam

would change Ho's mind. This heavy bombardment gave way to his image as a mad man prepared to drop an atomic bomb if necessary. In addition to these tactics, he continued to send financial aid to South Vietnam for training and personnel support. The North Vietnamese response to American strategy was retaliation. Additionally, the North Vietnamese strategies were more effective against the Americans than ours against them. Finally, on January 23, 1973, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and the North Vietnamese negotiator Le Duc Tho signed an agreement which would end the war. Yet some troops and CIA "advisors" remained to help with the transition. By November, that year, Congress signed the War Powers Act which required Congressional approval for troops to be committed to any action for more than sixty days. Although America was officially "home from the war" its effect was still being felt. In response to the war's end, Nixon eliminated the draft.

Vietnam was not the only event which held American interest during this term. Nixon's visit to China, the Yom Kippur War and the Watergate scandal dominated Nixon's term in office. Vietnam and Watergate were his worst fiascos. Nixon resigned in August 1974 and Vice President Gerald R. Ford became the Commander-in-Chief.

Gerald Ford had the difficult job of trying to put a nation back together from a war no one wanted, political

distrust, and a major energy crisis which rocked the economy. Although most Americans found his political candor refreshing, his image was not one of a political dynamo.

In the 1976 presidential campaign, Americans voted for Jimmy Carter, former governor of Georgia. He stood on a platform which offered honesty instead of dishonesty and a firm but gentle approach to facing issues at home and abroad. But Carter was unprepared for the crisis which he faced during his term. He attacked the two major problems of energy and the economy. Carter devoted new monies to ailing unemployment programs which Nixon provided limited to zero funding. By 1978 Carter had decreased unemployment to five percent but inflation had reached 10 percent. Additionally, the energy crisis of 1976 prompted Carter to seek a plan which would prevent the nation from being severely economically handicapped by reliance on outside energy sources. The generation of such a plan was further complicated by the hostage crisis in Iran. This appeared to be the straw that broke Carter's political back. Drained by rising interest rates, unemployment on the rise, and the perception of America as a weak nation, Carter's image at home and abroad suffered. It was no small surprise when Ronald Reagan won the presidential election in 1980.

1980s. The 1980s saw the nation turning towards hope again. President Ronald Reagan promised to bring the nation out of recession and lower the prime interest rate.

Regrettably the prime did not lower right away and efforts to bring more money into the economy flourished.

Deregulation of transportation industries did not create the money and jobs intended. The President then went to work on the budget and the nation's image. He cut monies from former president Jimmy Carter's social programs and gave it to defense, thus putting America back on the map as a strong nation ready, willing, and able to fight.

Many issues reigned through the eighties. Hostages in the air indicating the rise of terrorism, the highest poverty rate since 1962, the most bank failures since 1938, cities going bankrupt, and car manufacturers going under in response to the influx of Japanese autos were a few.

Despite these setbacks, by 1984 the United States was standing tall in the world view and feeling national pride at home. The Republican Reagan-Bush ticket won against the Democratic Mondale-Ferraro ticket. This appeared to be due to the Republican platform and earlier success of turning the country around.

Reagan's second term showed that a tax revision was needed desperately and the President and Congress sought an appealing middle ground. The lack of employment and seriously increased cost of living sent many people to the street as homelessness became a national issue. An intense look at where tax monies were going revealed the answer was defense. The unveiling of the Strategic Defense Initiative

surprised not only the nation but also Congress. Heated debates took place on the necessity of such a defense posture and its costs as the national debt was at an all time high.

In retaliation for the many bombings and hijackings endured and to send a message we would tolerate this no longer, we bombed Libya. The stated original intent was to kill leader Momar Khadifi. Although this attempt failed we certainly had their attention and Americans rallied behind this effort. On another front the Cold War was beginning to warm up and Soviet Premere Mikhail Gorbachev and President Reagan attended their first Super Power Summit in the winter of 1987.

This Summit and subsequent ones opened the door for freer U.S.-Soviet trading and business interactions. By far the most noticeable event of the eighties was the end to the Cold War on 9 November 1989, with the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Socio-Political Environment

Although many social issues ranged the country from 1948 to the present, only those issues which actually have had an impact on the combat exclusion policy or its implementation are addressed. The two areas which provided the greatest impact were the women's movement and the Vietnam War.

1948-1960

This time period is often referred to as the "doldrums" in the Women's Rights Movement (82:35). Similar to a sail craft awaiting wind the Women's Movement was in a state of inertia until the 1960s. Prior to this there were no such things as women's issues because women did not have the status worthy of an issue (59). The last issue women collectively sought to effect and subsequently changed was the guaranteed right to vote in 1920.

1960-1980

The Civil Rights Movement provided wind Women's Movement needed to push it out of the "doldrums." Equality for everyone regardless of race, color, sex, or creed was the foundation of the Movement (61:92). This view was echoed by the Women's Movement. While the Civil Rights Movement concentrated on creating equality for non-white peoples, the Women's Movement focused on creating equality for women. Some write that it was "The Feminine Mystique" by Betty Freidan which placed women's issues into the headlines during the sixties (13:6; 25:93). That may be so, but whatever the cause, the book became a signal that women and their roles were changing. The traditional roles were being questioned. Slowly but surely change began to take place. Congress passed the Equal Pay Act in 1963, which stated that equal pay must be given for equal work and that neither race, color, or creed can effect this. By 1966 the

National Organization for Women (NOW) had formed.. This created a powerful advocate for women's rights. NOW saw their mission as establishing equality for women in all phases of American life, starting with the job environment. Pay, benefits, and promotions were among the top measures they used to determine how well women were being treated. These measurements indicated just how well equality was established and integrated into the work force. Additionally, the work force was opening up more jobs to women. Forced by legislative and social change to open up the work place or be faced with law suits, employers began to place women in non-traditional jobs (10:26; 30:1; 36:1; 57:4; 69:107). Construction, law enforcement, and management are just some of the examples of the job opportunities which began to open to women.

This role expansion also opened new questions concerning women's roles and capabilities in previously male jobs. Are women strong enough, smart enough, will the children suffer, and what is a woman's natural task were some questions which concerned many people about this new development (66:78). A study published in 1975 catalogued responses to such questions during a ten year timeframe, 1964-1974. The responses indicated that women thought they could handle any job they applied for and that working did not adversely effect child rearing. Additionally, the researchers found that the Women's Movement had little

impact on the respondents. Moreover they attributed this to the rising egalitarian spirit in a wide range of women, not just educated or feminist women (12:5).

Yet, by the 1970s the Women's Movement and the views of women in different response surveys converged. It was during this period that the Women's Movement gained momentum. Among the milestones achieved during the seventies are Congressional prohibition of discrimination in credit and guaranteed equal rights for pregnant women (58:123). Title 9 of the Education Amendments of 1972 opened up sports and education to women. The right to an abortion in the historic Roe vs. Wade legalized abortion in 1973. In 1974 the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy became the first government service school to enroll women (52:5; 66:139; 73:61; 77:10; 82:26). The other academies followed suit in 1976 due to a Supreme Court ruling. Other changes which brought women closer to equality included strengthening the stand on gender discrimination, eliminating discrimination of pregnant women, and providing insurance coverage for women's dependents as well as men's (58:135).

The 1960s began to see some of the thoughts and actions begun 20 years prior come to be. Little girls never knew they were not allowed to play soccer or join the Little League. Gender and stereotypic oriented books were not as

readily available as before. Jane was now a doctor instead of a nurse. Dick was a flight attendant instead of a pilot.

Firsts for women were now taking on a different look. No longer was it the first woman in the board room, in a service academy, driving a truck, as a longshoreman, or firefighter. The first woman was appointed to the Supreme Court, the first woman astronaut went into space, and the first woman was selected to represent a major party ticket as vice presidential candidate.

Unfortunately, the 1980s also saw the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) fail. During the later part of the eighties, women's rights have experienced a turn of events which sounds ominous to some (58:3). The rights and initiatives so aggressively fought for and won appear to not be important to today's women (84:16). Whether it is because there appears to be no need for equal rights or because it may be a frightening thing to be totally responsible for oneself is a distinction authors cannot seem to make (58:210).

Vietnam

Much of the information concerning Vietnam was covered in the econo-political environment. What is of concern here and integral to the paper is the fact that the American people were not supportive of such an effort. When we first went to Vietnam in the mid-fifties in an advisory capacity the obligation of personnel and resources was small. By the

time the conflict turned into commitment, we appeared to be entrenched in Vietnam. But the American people did not support this.

The sixties were characterized by revolutionary thinking and actions. In accordance with this came the peace movement advocating a stance of non-aggression toward all peoples and a relinquishing of might in international problem-solving. The peace movement along with the intense human and civil rights focus during the war's duration precipitated the sentiment that we were in a war we did not want.

Riots on college campuses, loss of life for peace, impairment, peace demonstration, and draft dodgers all became clear signs of the disgust and non-support of the war. The most salient point to this paper is the fact the draft was abolished in 1973, thus creating an all-volunteer force (70:34-50). In the end the will of the people won and we disentangled ourselves from SEA and demobilized the military. Because of the nation-wide disenchantment with defense related issues, DOD and Pentagon officials focused on how to maintain force levels. At first officials did not think of using women because they wanted to force the draft back into existence, but economically this was not to be. The social tide was coming in and women were riding it into job arenas which previously had existed for men only (34:178).

Implementation

Implementation takes a straight look at how the Air Force implemented the 1948 combat exclusion policy and its 1956 amendment. Each year an implementation took place either towards combat or away from it is recorded. In order to present the implementation facts objectively, no analysis or opinion is offered until the end.

Significant Events in Implementation

- 1948 - The Women's Armed Service Integration Act is passed.
- 1956 - Title 10 to U.S. Code 8549 restricting women in the Air Force from combat in all but the medical professions.
- 1967 - Ceilings and restrictions removed on women in the services.
- 1967 - First Air Force line women arrive in Southeast Asia (SEA).
- 1970 - Reserve Officer Training Corps is opened to women.
- 1971 - Sex-based job classifications ruled unconstitutional.
- 1973 - The All-Volunteer Force is in effect.
- 1973 - Enlistment requirements for men and women standardized.
- 1976 - Air Force Academy accepts the first women cadets.
- 1976 - Women accepted into pilot training.
- 1977 - Women allowed to train for Titan missile operations.
- 1977 - Navigator training opened.
- 1978 - Congress defines combat.

1980 - Presidential announcement to consider women eligible for the draft.

1982 - Airborne Warning and Control System opened to women.

1984 - KC-10 opened to women.

1984 - Minuteman missile crew opened to women.

1984 - Operation Urgent Fury, the invasion of Grenada.

1985 - Women removed from jobs considered combat related.

1986 - AFR 35-60, The Combat Exclusion Policy, published. Identifies those jobs and specialties women are denied.

1986 - Women support the Libyan bombing.

1988 - Integrated Minuteman missile crews.

1989 - Updated AFR 35-60 opens more jobs to women including those that are considered closer to combat.

1990 - Women aircrew assist in Operation Just Cause, Panama.

1990 - Representative Patricia Schroeder proposes a four-year test for all Army specialties to be open to women.

Environmental Analysis

The environmental analysis synthesizes the combined effect that each part of the environment played in the policy issue of women in combat. Initially in 1948 when the Air Force began, women were by law part and parcel of the Armed Services. Although, they were not a very big part or parcel as the promotions and numbers of women were capped, the effect was significant. This was due to the fact that

women could perform some functions better than men. These functions, primarily clerical in nature, became part of the women's domain. By the 1950s women in the Air Force were mostly in medical and clerical positions. A small number were used in other support fields, such as communications.

It was not until the Vietnam War that the idea for using women in more than 'women's work' actually became more attractive. The Vietnam War was unpopular and fulfilling the personnel requirements levied by the war became increasingly difficult. The Air Force instituted a program which lowered the entrance requirements for male enlistees, while capable female recruits were overlooked. As in the past women were recruited in order to free men to fight. As in the past, women were geographically close to the theater of engagement. However, in the Vietnam era there was the beginning of public support for women who wanted to go to war.

The women's movement began to pick up momentum in the early sixties and by the seventies was in full swing. This impact combined with the drawdown of forces after Vietnam was made visible via advent of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF). The AVF provided more non-traditional jobs for women but opened up the avenue for arguments for and against women in combat.

Economically, this move was indeed quite savvy. A Government Accounting Office study showed that women cost

less to train and retain than did their male counterparts. Additionally, people were so disenchanted with anything military that officials wondered if they would be able to meet the personnel requirements levied by defense requirements if they didn't open more slots to women.

That thinking coupled with the seemingly apparent ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) prompted the services to focus towards equality and integration of women in the forces. Thus women were allowed into the jobs which had been considered the male domain only. Jobs such as pilot, navigator, aircraft maintenance, and missile operations, etc. opened up slowly but surely (6:65-67; 19:39). Thus as a by-product of economic and social pressure was job equality between the sexes inching forward (33:9; 93:1).

The eighties appeared to be a mixed bag of implementation. Early in the decade when draft registration came back into the picture the question arose of whether women should be registered or not (20:1-3; 45:8; 89:54; 92:12). Restrictions were placed on some jobs and areas which used women. This caused many people to demand to know just exactly where could women work. In 1986 the Air Force published Air Force Regulation 35-60, the Combat Exclusion Policy. This document detailed exactly where and what women could and could not do. The publication was updated in 1989 opening up more jobs for women such as pararescue. This

specialty could take a woman into the line of fire. To date less than one percent of the Air Force jobs remain closed to women (26:32) and these are considered to engage an enemy directly.

Summary

This chapter provided a methodology for analysis of the combat exclusion policy in the Air Force. It reviewed the economic, social, and political environment which generated the Combat Exclusion Law and the subsequent environs under which implementation and various changes took place.

The chapter then provided an analysis by using the backward mapping approach to this longitudinal study. The analysis indicated that no change to the policy occurred without some extenuating circumstance(s) in primarily the economic arena. The social values of each time also contributed to implementation changes. Societal values combined with the economics of providing defense increased women's opportunities and participation in the Air Force, as 99 percent of all Air Force jobs are open to women.

This leads to the final analysis of combat exclusion. It appears the policy will be, if it isn't already, overcome by events. With less than one percent of Air Force jobs closed to women the opportunity and likelihood of women being combatants sharply increases. Additionally, technology can bring the warfront anywhere it desires. Thus, creating a very flexible and changing front. This

environment alone makes it virtually impossible to ensure women would not be combatants much less casualties.

IV. Conclusions and Recommendations

Introduction

The objective of this research was to examine the combat exclusion policy and how it has been implemented in the Air Force. Although the literature and debate concerning combat exclusion is centered around five issues: strength, gender role, combat effectiveness, environmental danger, and national security. This research looks primarily at the duties women perform relative to the combat exclusion policy.

In this final chapter, the investigative questions posed in Chapter 1 are discussed, conclusions drawn when possible, and recommendations made.

Conclusions

1. "What has been the DOD policy on women in combat since 1948?"

DOD policy states unequivocally that women will not engage in combat and that rule has never changed. What has changed has been the interpretation of combat and combat engagement versus combat support. Initially combat was not defined until 1978. The definition did little more than reiterate that Congress did not want women in combat but realized as time and technology increases that the combat field can be anywhere.

Even today legislation is before Congress to allow a four year test for women in the Army to train in any career field. It is greeted with mixed reviews and the debates appear to be polarized.

2. "What has the Air Force written specifically addressing women in combat since 1948?"

Not until 1986 with AFR 35-60 was any regulation written concerning women in combat. The regulation dealt with the combat exclusion policy and detailed the jobs and specialty areas where women were prohibited. Prior to 1986, prohibitions could be found in training regulations and manuals dictating who could train for what career field. Those who supported eliminating the combat exclusion policy noticed these publications contained decisions which did little more than keep women from jobs that were considered necessary for equal advancement and promotions such as pilot and navigator.

3. What Air Force jobs are considered combat related?

Today less than 1 percent of the jobs in the Air Force are open to women. The ones that remain closed are those that directly engaged enemy fire or are on the front line of engagement. Specific examples are; tactical fighter and airlift aircraft, aerial gunner, and forward air control.

4. Historically, when have women in the Air Force been employed?

Originally, women were worked at the same jobs their civilian counterparts did. Jobs such as typing, filing, and nursing were considered the females domain. As the women's movement progressed and the economic reality of the AVF increased more non-traditional jobs in the Air Force opened to women. Slowly but surely women have accessed all but one percent of the totally available jobs.

In a nutshell, women initially were employed in gender stereotyped jobs. Then as time progressed and social and economic policies arose women infiltrated the male gender stereotypic jobs. Now women are at one of the last bastions of male gender specialties - combat.

Recommendations

The full integration of women into all work areas appears to be happening due to budget cuts and the lack of sound research data to suggest that this is not a viable course. It appears that it is just a matter of time before full integration takes place and all jobs are open to women. Due to that, the recommended course is to initiate steps now that aid total integration instead of being overcome by events. This would present the opportunity for implementation to take place as a proactive decision versus a possible knee-jerk reaction.

Since total implementation depends on Congressional approval, it is logical that studies that place women in combat related jobs should begin and results investigated

by a non-biased/non-partisan team. A prime study would be the integration of women in the police force. Although the over-all mission appears to be different, local peacekeeping versus national defense, observations concerning physical strength, intent, and ability to defend could be recorded and analyzed.

Additionally, because the author found great lapses in information concerning women in the military, a serious effort should be made to recapture this data. This could be accomplished by interviewing those individuals who were instrumental during these policy periods and are still alive. Consequently, a continuum of data would then be available.

Summary

This thesis looked at the Combat Exclusion Law and how the Air Force implemented it. The thesis provided a brief historical overview of American women in combat from the Revolutionary War to Operation Urgent Fury, the invasion of Panama. A literature review concerning women in combat, in light of the combat exclusion law, was provided. Additionally, literature on policy, policy implementation, and policy analysis was reviewed. From this juncture the methodology was explained and analysis addressed.

The thesis went on to look at the environment which generated the Combat Exclusion law and its various forms of implementation. Implementation was traced from 1948 until

March 1990. The analysis provided the insight that implementation changes were environment dependent with most of the dependency on economics. Societal changes of the sixties and seventies had a drastic impact on women in the military. These coupled with the AVF provided the impetus for women's roles to expand greatly. Today women make up 13 percent of the Air Force and can choose from a little over 99 percent of the jobs available. This greatly increases their chances of being in combat. It is the contention of this thesis that the Air Force needs to take a hard look at what to do in order to not be overcome by events and to exercise control over the situation while there is still room to do so.

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Form Approved
OMB No 0704-0188

Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302 and to the Office of Management and Budget: Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188), Washington, DC 20503.

1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave blank)	2. REPORT DATE	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED	
	September 1990	Master's Thesis	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE USAF WOMEN IN COMBAT POLICY AND IMPLEMENTATION IN THE ALL-VOLUNTEER FORCE		5. FUNDING NUMBERS	
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7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Air Force Institute of Technology WPAFB OH 45433-6583		8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER AFIT/GLM/ISM/90S-62	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)		10. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER	
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES			
12a. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution unlimited		12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE	
13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words) This thesis examined the policy on women in combat and how the Air Force implemented this policy. The study revealed that women have engaged in combat from the beginning of recorded history. But not until patriarchal societies emerged did this appear to be incorrect. The thesis provides a brief outline of women's roles in combat since the beginning of the country. The focus then shifts to the role of women in combat since the passage of PL 80-625, which provided the combat exclusion policy. The literature indicated women were encouraged to join the Armed Services to free men to fight the war during World War II. The necessity to pass the Women Armed Services Integration Act (PL 80-625) was due to the necessity of keeping women available and trained for another conflict. The military machine had begun to rely on the service of women in meeting their taskings. The paper concluded by pointing out that each phase of allowing women into more men traditional skills and jobs was related to the social and economic environment of the time. <i>Keywords:</i> Air Force personnel, Women, Warfare, Volunteer. Thesis. (Rev. 7) ←			
14. SUBJECT TERMS Combat Air Force Women Policy		15. NUMBER OF PAGES 84	
		16. PRICE CODE	
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT Unclassified	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE Unclassified	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT Unclassified	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT UL
NSN 7540-01-280-5500			